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A Prospect on Antiquity and Britannia on Edge: Landscape Design and the Work of Sir William Bruce and Alexander Edward

This paper considers the main characteristics of the Scottish formal landscape, as established by Sir William Bruce. It considers Bruce's key contribution but also how his collaboration with Alexander Edward allowed the further development of the characteristics of the Scottish designed landscape, partly under the influence of France and also in relation to the notion of the Scottish Historical Landscape. It focuses on two case studies, Kinnaird Castle in Angus and Hopetoun House, proposing a new interpretation of the latter in particular.

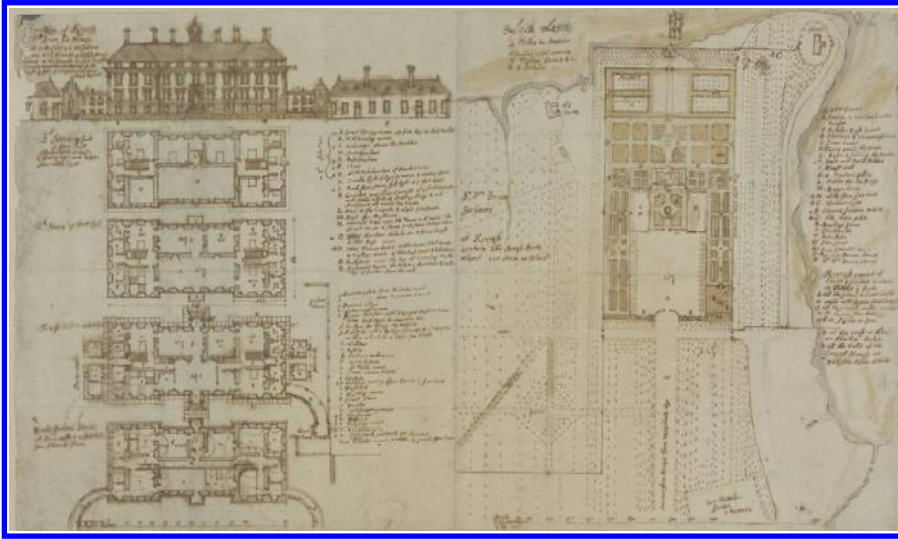
Most recent scholarship on Scottish formal landscape design has identified, on the one hand, its strong relationship with wider European trends: philosophically, culturally, economically and formalistically, while, on the other, has stressed its individuality, in particular, its strong roots in local concerns. These have taken mainly two forms. First, there has been some emphasis on the Scottish designed landscape as a landscape of productivity, in which the economic returns of the estate were at least as important as the formal layout and intricate parterres typical of the European baroque garden. What might be called the landscape of improvement, in the late seventeenth century, is connected with improving landowners who prefigure the enlightened landlords who helped to bring about the agricultural revolution in Scotland in the eighteenth century.¹ The second strand concerns the relationship between landscape design and the topography and history of its location. What some writers have termed the *Scottish Historical Landscape* has been traced from the early modern period onwards and highlights an often intimate connection between natural or manmade features in the landscape, which are incorporated into landscape designs and the estate owner and his family history. In this way a particular setting can be given a historical or cultural resonance relevant to the family history of the landowner.²

Of course, the distinction between ‘productive’ and ‘designed’ is a false one – almost every estate would be characterised by both approaches. While the gridded, productive landscape of the Netherlands undoubtedly influenced Scotland, so too did the grander, baroque landscapes of France and, as the example of Alloa shows (discussed elsewhere in this volume), the ideas of productivity and profitability could equally be present in such an elaborate landscape design. This paper is concerned with some of these grander landscapes and with the designed rather than the productive landscape. In considering this, it will also seek to characterise some of the key elements of a Bruce formal landscape and how that was responded to, modified and developed by his sometime amanuensis, Alexander Edward. This discussion will touch upon some aspects of the ‘historical landscape’, partly because Sir William Bruce has been credited with its early development³ and partly because it is an idea that Alexander Edward seems to have taken forward in his own work.

In considering this, this paper will first characterise the Bruce approach to landscape and then will focus on two case studies in which Bruce and Edward worked together: Kinnaird Castle, near Montrose, and Hopetoun House, near Edinburgh. The first of these, dating from the 1690s, predates Edward’s ‘Grand Tour’ (to England, France and the Low Countries) of 1701–2; the second postdates that visit and an argument will be advanced that links the Hopetoun landscape very firmly to the experience of that tour and, in particular, the experience of French gardens. But these two case studies also perform another function in that they also allow us to engage with the idea of the Scottish Historical Landscape in two very different contexts in landscapes with quite contrasting or even opposing ideas of history and civilisation. At Kinnaird the landscape is an ancient, Pictish one that Edward relates to his very formal landscape design, while at Hopetoun we have a landscape on the edge of Roman civilisation, looking towards the untamed and uncivilised (Pictish) north.

Alexander Edward was the Episcopalian minister of Kemback, near St Andrews, who lost his living after the Revolution in 1689 and developed an existing skill and interest in architecture and garden design into an alternative career. His relationship with Bruce was an important part of this and was mutually beneficial. However, that was only part of the picture and his family’s roots in Angus and the web of patronage that went with that, particularly with the Earls of Panmure, was also key to his success.⁴ After his removal from his parish, Edward seems to have returned to Angus, where he carried out many of the improvements to the Panmure estates on behalf of James, 4th Earl of Panmure.⁵

Edward had acquired considerable skills as a surveyor and draughtsman and was also an acknowledged expert in antiquarian studies and natural history, bringing all of these skills together in aiding his father to produce a new map and description of the County of Angus in 1678.⁶ It was a feature of Edward’s later career that he was acknowledged as an expert in these fields, most notably by Sir Robert Sibbald, the great Scottish polymath and intellectual leader in Scotland at that time.⁷



1. Drawing of Kinross (c.1690) by Alexander Edward. (Edinburgh University Library)

The combination of gentlemanly interest in art, architecture and antiquarianism coupled with real skills in land surveying and draughtsmanship was highly unusual and highly prized in Scotland at this time and made Edward an attractive advisor or collaborator to many improving lairds and noblemen, as well as to an architect like Sir William Bruce. The relationship between Bruce and Edward was based not only on professional expertise, with Edward working as assistant to Bruce as surveyor and draughtsman, but also on religious and political affiliations. To be an Episcopalian, almost by definition, was to be a Jacobite. Bruce's fortunes were intimately connected with those of the Stewarts and he suffered increasingly in the years after the Revolution as a suspected Jacobite, with his movements curtailed and periods of house arrest and even imprisonment. Both men, in fact, were part of an essentially Jacobite circle (although both also operated outside that).

Professionally, an initial focal point of their relationship was Kinross House, one of the very first projects Edward was involved in and a very significant example of Bruce's approach to landscape design (Figure 1).⁸ In formal terms, the design is based mainly on a single axis from the town, through the gardens and house and out to Loch Leven Castle. The plan even has a small harbour on axis, emphasising the actual physical link between house and castle.

This very focused aspect of the Bruce design is evident not only in the termination of the axis on a particular point, but also in the way the rest of the design supports that relentless axuality because the formal core of house and garden is contained within a walled enclosure that tends to exclude the landscape design outside and even carefully excludes the old house (confusingly known as the 'New House of Kinross'). This tendency to isolate the formal core from any hint of irregularity is also found elsewhere in Bruce's practice,

notably at Craigiehall in the 1690s.⁹ Moreover, at Kinross and elsewhere, Bruce rarely uses diagonal vistas opened up from the core of the design (although there are some outwith the central core) and in this Bruce differs greatly from the great European baroque landscape designers and from later Scottish ones. In this way, although he creates elaborate gardens and ambitious axes, there is a simplicity and orthogonality which links his work with many other, much less elaborate, gridded and productive Scottish landscapes.¹⁰

At Kinross, the only breaks in the walled core that aren't at either end of the axis are those at right angles to it, where the wall opens up, precisely in line with the gables of the house, giving controlled views to north and south. In the case of the north view, it is possible that this was also designed to focus on an architectural feature, in this case Burleigh Castle, a mile or so away.

The main axis was designed to terminate on Loch Leven Castle and that connection is powerfully emphasised by the sheer simplicity of the layout and its dominating central axis. This castle is very resonant in Scottish history, as a place used by Robert Bruce, Robert II and, most famously, as a place of imprisonment for Mary Queen of Scots, before her escape and ill-fated flight to England. For Bruce, who was a member of a minor branch of the Bruce family, but with a strong sense of history and rank, such a connection to heroic and royal namesakes, to great events in national history as well as a general connection to the Stewarts that he might well have wanted to stress, this was an extremely powerful historical landscape, which, in purely formal terms embodied one of the classic examples of the long, focused axis that became both much longer and a key characteristic of Scottish landscape design for at least the next generation. It was developed not only by Bruce himself, but by others, notably the Earl of Mar and Alexander Edward, who was connected to both Bruce and Mar.

In Edward's work there is a continuation of the axial layout and focused views but he also used the diagonal, integrated with the main axis, which in European terms was quite a common approach. Along with the focused view, we also find a very clear acknowledgement of a broader prospective view and in Edward's work we see him designing that into the landscape and even into the avenue. A good example of this is his most famous work at Hamilton Palace, where he produced landscape designs just a few months before his death in 1708. Here, the Bruce technique of the long, dominating avenue formed the very useful function of linking two very different landscapes north and south of the River Avon, but here he avoids connecting it directly to any physical feature in the wider landscape. To the south, it disappears over the horizon into infinity and to the north it opens out with a broad view across the River Clyde and the landscape to the north. At Hamilton, it is not the main axis but many of the sub-avenues that are focused on distant and significant objects. Moreover, even within and around the avenue, Edward shows a concern for the wider, unfocused view by identifying the highest point to the south which gives a view over the top of the palace and, by placing mounts alongside (but outside) the avenue, providing a broader, unfocused, panoramic view.¹¹



2. Aerial view of Kinnaird Castle. (Crown Copyright RCAHMS)

In assessing how Edward arrived at this point, a good place to start is Kinnaird Castle, near Montrose, where Bruce and Edward worked together in the 1690s. Kinnaird Castle also fits very well into the social, religious and political milieu in which Edward was operating at that time. It lies between Brechin and Montrose (Edward was also working on Brechin Castle at this time) and was done on behalf of another of the local Jacobite nobility, Charles Carnegie, 4th Earl of South Esk. The story of the estate improvements at Kinnaird is a very complex one, so only a few key aspects are discussed here but there are both strong connections with Bruce, and even Kinross, as well as notable differences.¹²

The house is now a David Bryce, mid-Victorian, Franco-Scottish renaissance chateau but the aerial view (Figure 2) indicates the remains of a complex formal layout which dates back to 1690s.

Edward worked at Kinnaird on behalf of Bruce (who was under house arrest as a suspected Jacobite) in the 1690s, not only as a skilled surveyor and draughtsman but also as

someone who knew the territory very well and who was also starting to work on his own account, mainly among the nobility and gentry of Angus.

He carried out a survey of the building (dated 2 September 1697), which shows the old, extended L-plan castle and various annotations by Bruce.¹³ The working method, which was used elsewhere by Bruce at those times when he was inconveniently detained, was to send Edward or another assistant to bring back information from the site that he would then work on in Kinross or Edinburgh.¹⁴ In this case, the broad idea was that the old tower-house would be replaced by or converted and extended into something more modern, embedded within a grand baroque landscape, hinted at in the aerial photograph. Edward drew up the designs for a new house on behalf of Bruce in 1698¹⁵ but his engagement with the landscape goes back almost three years before that. A sketch survey that must date from around August 1695 survives, showing the old castle and a very complex arrangement of gardens and agricultural buildings.¹⁶ Edward attempted to tidy this up with a more rational layout of courts and gardens around the house and even designed a bowling green for the west side of the house, which would have been overlooked by the main suite of rooms on the first floor of the castle.¹⁷

So, by September 1695, Edward was suggesting an arrangement of courts and gardens on the west side of the castle, although the entrance was from the south. An undated drawing¹⁸ appears to be an elaboration of this suggested western layout (Figure 3). This very detailed design is specific to the site in that the measurements and changes of level relate to both the September survey and the August bowling green design. What that suggests is that in the late summer of 1695, Edward started working on some detailed garden proposals for the west side of the castle but, at some point, decided that building should be reoriented to the west, because the design of inner and outer courts flanked by parterres makes no real make sense without an entrance on this side of the building. The parterre designs themselves are extremely elaborate and extremely well-informed for a man who, at this point, had no first-hand knowledge of French gardens. Edward is known to have possessed a number of gardening books by the 1690s but none of those recorded contained designs anything like these; for the most part they were concerned with practical rather than design or theoretical matters.¹⁹ The five components of this garden contain a number of modern features, including a *parterre de broderie*, at top right; a bowling green, divided to provide access to the terrace above; a variation on the *parterre de l'angloise*, combining grass and embroidery, on the left; and then two variations on the *bosquet*, or wilderness planting, in front of the parterres. There is no doubt that he must have had access to good sources but, so far, it has not been possible to confirm that he actually copied these from specific publications.

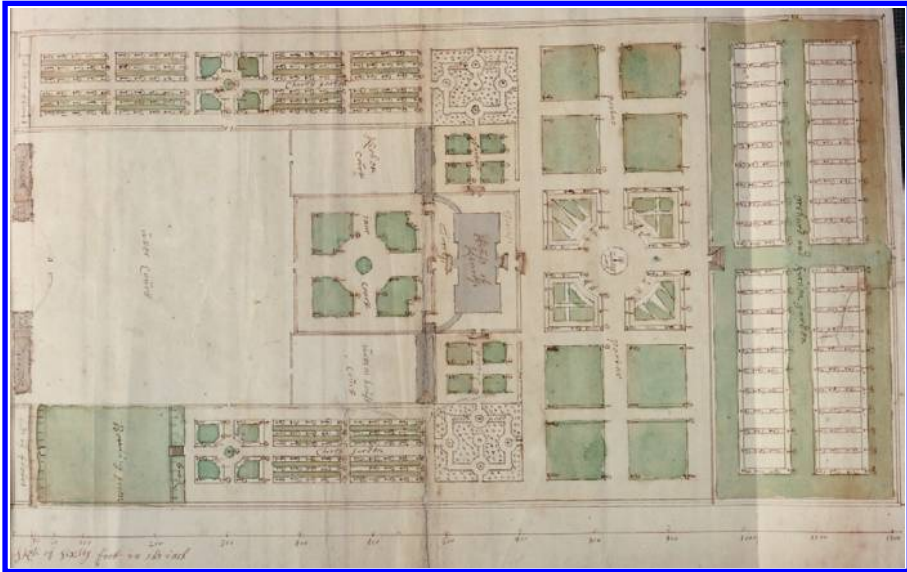
However, there was a problem with this design because, although the basic outline of Edward's elaborate garden would have worked with a reoriented house, the detail would not because the new house would need service courts where Edward had placed parterres.



3. Parterre design for west side of Kinnaird Castle (c. 1695) by Alexander Edward. (Kinnaird Castle Collection, courtesy of the Earl of South Esk)

Kinross becomes directly relevant at this point. The sequence of drawing so far discussed suggests Edward working for Bruce but also, as the man on site, responding to the topography and enthusiastically inflating the project with his grandiose and expensive parterres. Bruce, at a distance, would have had some difficulty engaging so directly, but he could provide a sophisticated model of a house with inner and outer courts, as well as service courts and gardens disposed around the major axis, which Edward knew well, namely Kinross House itself (Figure 4). In the Kinnaird collection, there is a drawing of Kinross, by Alexander Edward that ultimately was directly used as the basis for the garden design by 1698, when Bruce redesigned the castle (Figure 5).²⁰ This is Kinross at Kinnaird; the broad lines are identical, except the terraces behind are required to accommodate the great change of level on the east side at Kinnaird.

Significant as these drawing are, however, the most important drawing in this series is not these very pretty parterre designs, nor even the formal core derived from Kinross, but a sketch proposal for the whole estate layout, carried out by Edward in January 1696.²¹ In many ways, this is the key image in the development of the Scottish formal landscape in this period in that it embodies familiar elements like the formal core and the central axis, but there is a greater complexity here; it is not simply about a single dominating axis and there is no concern with terminating the main axis on a focal point; rather it is about an expansive prospect across the rich countryside to south and west of the house. The handling of that central axis, and the reorientation of the house that goes with it, is closely related



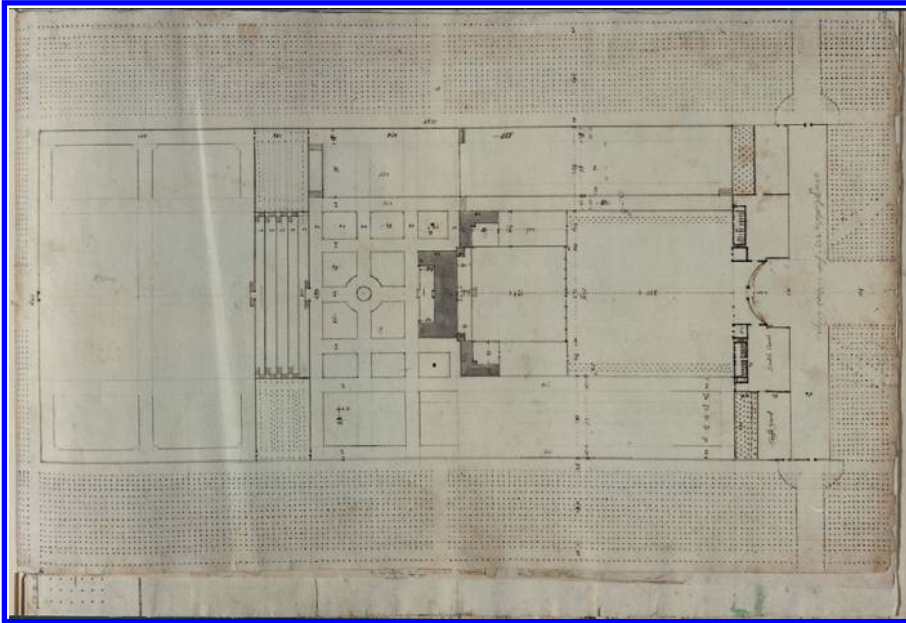
4. Plan of Kinross House Gardens (c.1695) by Alexander Edward. (Kinnaird Castle Collection, courtesy of the Earl of South Esk)

to the topography of the site. To the rear of the house, the ground drops sharply (possibly explaining the non-continuation of the avenue on that side) but to the front, to the south and west, the house commands a small, raised plateau and the main avenue runs to the very edge of this and then provides an expansive outlook over the countryside beyond; in doing so, it anticipates the avenue at Hamilton discussed above.

This ties in with the more expansive nature of the design, which, with the diagonals added to the main axis, helps to provide this expansiveness and links the design with European (especially French) models. However, this is a very controlled design and is still concerned with the focused viewpoint; indeed, it could be argued that this is mainly what the drawing is about because all around the edge Edward has noted the various points of interest and potential terminations, with the degree shifts necessary to align the avenues to those points.

This design almost certainly involved removal not only of the old agricultural buildings but also of the township that was formerly close to the castle. The old church and manse have survived and are close to the house, but there was a new church and burial ground to the west, which is identified as a potential termination point for one of the diagonals.²²

Some of the proposed termination points were very close to the house, but others were quite distant. The two main diagonals illustrate this quite well; both are designed to terminate on specific points, one close and one far away. Fernall Castle, to the south-east, was very close, just beyond the estate walls. This building was associated with the Carnegie



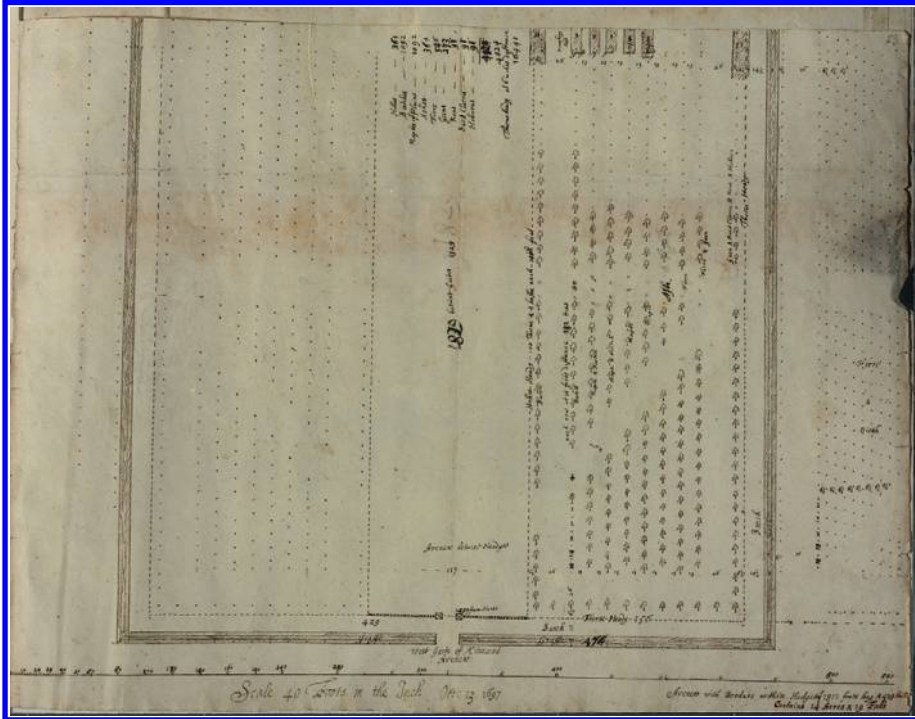
5. Plan of Kinnaird gardens (c.1698) by Alexander Edward. (Kinnaird Castle Collection, courtesy of the Earl of South Esk)

family (i.e. the earl's family) but also had an episcopal connection that makes it relevant to Edward, as the pre-reformation residence of Bishop of Brechin.

The corresponding diagonal avenue to the north-east terminated on Turrin Hill, about five miles away, near Forfar. This is the highest hill and the most dramatic geological formation in the area, but also ties in with the ancient past of the area as the site of a major iron age fort with Pictish connections. So these terminations relate both to local and relatively recent history as well as to an archaeological and partly mythic past.²³

With the subsidiary avenues potentially opening up a whole series of closed vistas on near and distant objects in the landscape, the main avenue, by contrast, became a place of prospect, providing general views from the edge of an elevated area over the surrounding countryside. When Edward developed this further the following year, he produced an exceptionally grand and amazingly detailed design which tends to emphasise this aspect (Figure 6).

The first remarkable thing about the two drawings (the detail illustrated here and a complete design from the outer court to a point slightly beyond this end) is that the design corresponds to the lines visible in modern aerial photographs (see Figure 2) so that this avenue of some nine rows width on each side was definitely planted. Figure 6 provides remarkable evidence of the incredibly detailed information Edward supplied on this planting: each of nine different species is identified, the total number of trees (4,024) is



6. Plan of west end of main avenue at Kinnaird (1697) by Alexander Edward. (Kinnaird Castle Collection, courtesy of the Earl of South Esk)

indicated and there is even a calculation of how many holly plants, at six inches apart, would be needed to surround the young trees after planting. But it also indicates that Edward raised the whole avenue up on a bank, providing a smooth, flat surface as the main approach to the house, sharply contrasting in its great formality with the topography of the area. It should also be said that, at this stage, there is clearly a limit to Edward's interest in the open, uncontrolled view because an avenue of this thickness, with a surrounding holly hedge would only have provided such a view at certain points, notably at the end.

Overall, at Kinnaird, Edward, with his developing role as a designer and his deep knowledge of the territory, produced a design that introduced a more complex layout than a simple, single-axis design and, on the one hand, continued with the focused view, while, on the other, also showed a concern with a wider and more expansive viewpoint, albeit with limits. Perhaps what is even more interesting about this is the sophistication in the broad lines and in the detail and obvious knowledge of continental examples, all this several years before his departure for France.

Our second case study, Hopetoun, has been examined in much more detail than Kinnaird and, although not all of its history is clear, the broad lines certainly are.²⁴ The starting point for discussion of the landscape is Robert Sibbald's famous description

of the house and gardens, in which he attributes house and gardens to Bruce, Lord Rankeilior (cousin of Lord Hope) and Alexander Edward, ‘Great masters in Architecture and contrivance of avenues, gardens and orchards . . .’²⁵ By c.1730, when William Adam made his great plan of Hopetoun, much of what it shows was already executed and much of that is familiar from other Scottish designed landscapes. As at Kinnaird, it combines the central, axial approach with diagonals leading out into the wider landscape; indeed the coastline to the west of the house, very much encourages this. The idea of aligning the dominant axis on specific objects is also very prominent, with the east avenue leading the eye over the ruins of Inchgarvie, two miles away, but then leading further to Berwick Law, over twenty miles away.²⁶ There is also, within the line of the main avenue an attempt to identify the best spot (the highest spot) that allows more uncontrolled views across the countryside. This is exactly what Edward did at Hamilton in 1708 and similar to what he did at Kinnaird in the late 1690s.²⁷

James Macaulay has recently reassessed Bruce’s contribution at Hopetoun, emphasising the Frenchness of the design and tying that partly to the clear interest in France found in the Hopetoun library, with a large number of French engravings of architecture and garden designs.²⁸ However, in relation to the landscape, it is possible to be a little more definite about at least one part of this collection and to tie the post-1702 development of the garden at Hopetoun more firmly to Alexander Edward’s French experience in 1701–2.²⁹ Edward undertook his small tour on behalf of a number of mainly Jacobite noblemen (though Hopetoun was not a Jacobite),³⁰ with an ultimate destination of St Germain, to deliver secret, cypher messages to the exiled Jacobite court.³¹

Of course, the tour obviously had other purposes and Edward carried out a number of commissions for Scottish noblemen and sent thousands of items back to Scottish estates – including plants, seeds, books, marble, glass, etc.³² There was a strongly practical side to his activities and to his patrons’ approach. He was under contract and was required to consider things that might make their estates more productive. Thus the purpose of the trip was to gather information about a variety of subjects ranging from coal mining to numismatics, from the practical aspects of parterre design in France to the transport methods used by Jules Hardouin Mansart for Louis XIV’s royal works.³³ In addition, Edward set out to acquire as much architectural and garden design material as he possibly could and between April and June 1702 he bought a total of 885 architectural or garden engravings. He scoured the catalogues of people like Nicolas de Fer, Mariette and Perelle along the Rue St Jacques and sent a huge trunk load of material back to Scotland.³⁴

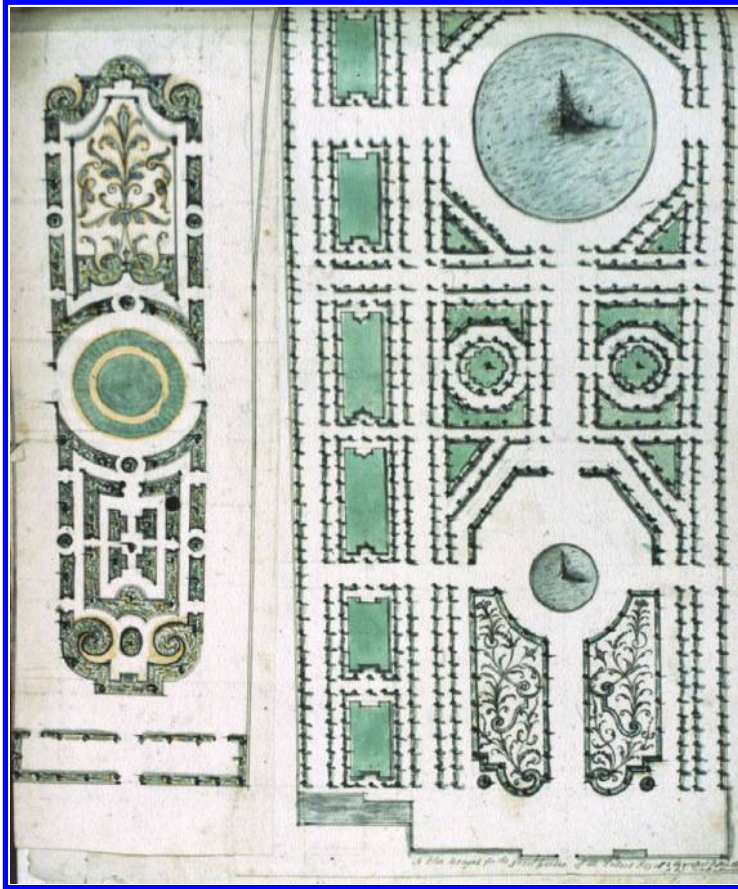
Under the contract, Edward was required to report monthly to the Earl of Mar, who would then contact the other patrons. On his return, Edward was obliged to give each of his patrons three of his own drawings, made during his visit, and to visit each of them for three days for each of the following three years, in order to provide advice on their various works.³⁵ This, of course, was in addition to any commissions they might have given him

while he was abroad, and there is little doubt that many of the hundreds of engravings he acquired in Paris were destined for country houses back in Scotland.

In the context of Hopetoun, what this means is that he was contractually obliged to be there for a period each year from 1703 to 1706, exactly when the gardens were being laid out. There are also two other direct links between his tour and developments at Hopetoun. The first of these is evidenced by the bill submitted by Edward on 24 March 1703 for an account for trees supplied to the gardens.³⁶ This tallies exactly with a list of trees in his tour notebook, identified as Hopetoun's Account, so the material he was seeking out in the south of England and the Low Countries in 1702 was delivered to Hopetoun in 1703.³⁷ The second appears to relate to the obligation in the contract to supply drawings. A small album of engravings and drawings, recently restored to the Hopetoun Collection, may well represent Edward's contractual obligation to Hope.³⁸

All of the engravings in this album, with the exception of the *Vitruvius Britannicus* views of Hopetoun itself, date to the late seventeenth-century period; they are overwhelmingly French, including Clagny, Meudon, St Germain, Chantilly and various sites in Paris; they focus mainly on garden designs and, with only one or two exceptions, all of them appear in Edward's lists.³⁹ Moreover, the printed ephemera at the back of the Hopetoun album is all French and all dates from around 1700, most notably an invitation to the funeral of the architect M. Aubry on Christmas Day 1701.⁴⁰ But the final connection between this album and Edward's tour is the presence of drawings in his own hand. These are one sheet bearing his drawings of the parterres at the Palais Royal in Paris along with the parterres of the 'maison de M. Turgot' (Figure 7), and a second sheet of an unidentified garden and two sheets of topiary work from Versailles. Admittedly, there is a slight discrepancy between this and the contract but, overall, the evidence that the album represents Edward's contractual obligation to Hopetoun seems very strong and helps to provide a context for the post-1703 Hopetoun development, of Edward having immersed himself in French design and brought it back to Scotland. The huge parterres on the west side of the house were very strongly influenced by French examples and, given the focus on parterre design in the material supplied by Edward, it seems very likely that this feature was designed at this time. However, to conclude this necessarily brief look at Hopetoun and bring us back to the wider theme of landscape and history, which is so important in Scottish landscape design in this period, an important feature is the Sea Terrace at Hopetoun (Figure 8).

This was built c. 1704/5⁴¹ and forms a walk from the house, up towards the remains of the old castle of Abercorn, with spectacular views across the river and, as if to emphasise a military connection, a series of bastions around the west end, nearest the castle. In one way, we can relate this development to a tradition in Scottish gardens of terraces at places like Balcaskie and Culross on the north side of the Forth, or Hatton on the south side, which all form part of this typology. Arguably, however, this is something slightly different. It is not a series of formal terraces but one long, continuous walkway, giving broad, and rather



7. Garden plans of Palais Royal and 'Maison de M. Turgot' in Paris (c.1702) by Alexander Edward. (Private collection)

informal views across the river and up and downstream. In fact, the experience of walking along this terrace is very similar to that at St Germain, Edward's ultimate destination in France, where there is a huge terrace stretching from the palace, with the forest on one side and a steep slope down to the River Seine and views across the countryside towards Paris. The suggestion here, therefore, is that this terrace is a memory of St Germain and the source, at least for its form, is therefore French rather than Scottish.

However, the significance of this feature is more complex than that. The way the terrace is arranged, looking to the north from a high escarpment with embrasures and bastions like a fortification, is uncannily reminiscent of some parts of Hadrian's Wall and to conclude we must consider what relevance that might have to the landscape of Hopetoun. To do that, we must turn back to Sir Robert Sibbald and his description of Linlithgowshire. There, he does not only describe the house at Hopetoun, but also provides us with some of the history of



8. Sea Terrace at Hopetoun House. (Author)

the area, with a particular emphasis on its Roman past. Part of his discussion is about the Antonine Wall, which ends just a few miles away at Carriden on the Forth:

Afterwards the Romans carried it on to Abercorne, where it terminated, as Bede says . . .⁴²

Bede also says that Abercorne Castle was a *Turris Speculatorum*—an outlook tower at the end of the wall. Furthermore, the chain of fortifications continued along the coast towards Cramond and there was thought to be a small Roman fort at Society, again on the Hopetoun estate.

What emerges from Sibbald here is the idea that Hopetoun forms the end of the Antonine Wall and that the ancient Castle provided a link between the Hopes and the dawn of ‘civilisation’ in Scotland. Edward was closely linked with Sibbald and both men had strong interests in the Antonine Wall. In his Grand Tour pocket book, Edward also had a number of loose papers, including two transcriptions of fragments of inscribed text found at various points along the wall (one, at least, of which is in the Hunterian Museum). Both of these also appear in the form of engravings in Sibbald’s *Historical Enquiries*.⁴³ Elsewhere, Sibbald acknowledges Edward’s assistance in drawing up a Roman artefact (presumably for publication).⁴⁴

The real significance of this Roman connection, however, lies in the chronology of the wall as it is outlined by Sibbald in *Historical Enquiries*. This chronology is highly unusual and might be seen as a rather convoluted attempt to include Scotland, or at least the south of

Scotland, in the Roman Empire, i.e. as the edge of Britannia rather than Caledonia. The argument runs that Scotland south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde was civilised by the Romans but that protection was required from the tribes to the north. Hadrian built his wall as a bulwark against this barbarian danger. However, Hadrian's Wall, according to Sibbald, was in East Lothian, not Northumberland, and it was eight rather than eighty miles long, running between Haddington and Musselburgh.⁴⁵ The wall running between the Forth and the Clyde was built by Antoninus Pius but the wall in Northumberland was built on the order of Septimius Severus and constructed mainly by Caracalla.⁴⁶ This is crucial because it means that the Scottish wall is earlier than the English wall and in the chronology of the Roman Empire it means that the high water mark of the Roman Empire was the line of the Forth and Clyde – and that means that lowland Scotland was in Britannia. For Sibbald, this was crucial:

They did introduce Order and Civility wherever they came, and by Arts and Policy they taught our ancestors, they tamed their fierceness, and brought them to affect a civil life . . .⁴⁷

Edward's evocation of this wall at Hopetoun, therefore, was not simply a local, historical reference but was placing Hopetoun as a bastion of lowland and British civilisation. In the years immediately before Union, and for a patron who was a supporter of the new dynasty and of the Union, this made of the landscape at Hopetoun a powerful symbol, both historically loaded and looking towards the future.

NOTES

1. John Lowrey, 'Practical Palladianism: the Scottish country house and the concept of the villa in the late seventeenth century', *Architectural Heritage*, XVIII, 2007, pp. 151–68; Charles McKean, 'The Scottish country seat in its setting', *Garden History I*, Vol. 31, No. 2, Winter 2003, pp. 141–62.

2. The two most significant contributions to this idea are Aonghus MacKechnie, 'Scottish historical landscapes', and Margaret Stewart, 'The metaphysics of place in the Scottish historical landscape: patriotic and Virgilian themes, c.1700 to the early nineteenth century', *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes, An International Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 2002, pp. 214–39 and 240–64.

3. MacKechnie, op. cit., p. 215; Stewart, op. cit., p. 240

4. For Edward's biography see John Lowrey, *A Man of Excellent Parts: Alexander Edward 1651–1708*, Crawford Centre for the Arts, University of St Andrews, 1987, and John Lowrey, 'Alexander Edward: the education of an architect', *Inferno: The St Andrews Journal of Art History*, 1996, pp. 35–48.

5. The 4th Earl of Panmure carried out a large programme of architectural and wider estate improvements in the 1690s and early 1700s. Many of the documents relating to this, including contracts, building accounts, even a furniture inventory

(1695) are in the hand of Alexander Edward. Edward may well have lived at Panmure House at that time and certainly did a little later, in 1705, when an inventory includes 'Mr Alexander Edward's Room' (in the basement), Dalhousie Papers, NAS GD45/18/882/2.

6. Lowrey, 1987, op. cit.; John Stuart (ed.), *Registrum de Panmure*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. lxxv

7. See the paper by Matthew Walker in this volume.

8. The drawings of Kinross House, now in Edinburgh University Library, are in the hand of Alexander Edward, although it is now believed that these were produced not in connection with the building of the house but for Jan Slezer's unpublished volume on 'Ancient and Present State of Scotland', c.1695; see Keith Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland. The Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671 to 1717*, HMSO, National Library of Scotland, 1993, p. 91. Cavers attributes the drawings to Slezer and Bruce, although acknowledging the possibility of Edward's authorship. However, the hand appears to be unmistakably that of Edward.

9. At Craighiehall, in response to an idea (ultimately from James Smith) to retain the old tower house as part of the new work, Bruce insisted that his entire layout would therefore have to be shifted thirty-six feet to one side to exclude the irregularity; see John Lowrey, 'Sir William Bruce and his circle at Craighiehall, 1694–1708', in John Frew and David Jones (eds), *Aspects of Scottish Classicism. The House and its Formal Setting 1690–1750*, St Andrews Studies in the History of Scottish Architecture and Design, University of St Andrews, 1989, pp. 1–8.

10. Lowrey, 2007, op. cit., p. 152

11. For detailed analysis of this design see John Lowrey, 'The development of the formal landscape at Hamilton 1700–1750', in Frew and Jones, op. cit., pp. 25–32.

12. A number of other notable figures, including Jan Slezer, produced designs for Kinnaird Castle and gardens and a large archive of drawings still survives at the castle. The best source on the garden designs for Kinnaird Castle is still a set of notes compiled by Alastair Rowan and John Dunbar in the 1960s, held in NMRS. In this paper references to individual drawings will use the NMRS reference numbers used in the RCAHMS photographic collection.

13. Survey of Kinnaird Castle, 2 September 1697, NMRS AND/37/19/fol. 4r.

14. At the top of the drawing there is a note by Bruce that casts light on this: 'Ground Draught of Kinnaird House appertaining to the Earl of South Esk as it is given to me to append and add as I think fit.'

15. Most of these are undated but a ground-floor plan bears the inscription 'Additions and amendments designed for the Earl of South Esk's house of Kinnaird by W.B. [William Bruce] on [16 April?] 1698. The inscription is in Bruce's hand but the drawing (and the other drawings in the set) and all the other inscriptions are in Edward's. NMRS AND/37/18/fol. 3r.

16. NMRS AND/37/36/fol. 20r is undated but is closely related to NMRS AND/37/38/fol. 21r, which is dated 10 September 1695.
17. This is the drawing of 10 September 1695, referred to in the previous note; bowling green design is dated 1 August 1695, NMRS AND/37/37/fol. 20v.
18. NMRS AND/37/31/fol. 16r.
19. There are records of books acquired by Edward in the 1670s and 1680s which included Leonard Meager's *The English Gardener*, Charles Etienne's *Libellus de re Hortensi* (both acquired 1674); John Evelyn's *The French Gardener*, bound with John Roses's *The English Vineyard Vindicated*. These are recorded in Edward's book lists in the Dalhousie papers, NAS GD45/26/72.
20. The Kinross drawing has not been copied by NMRS [check this]. The design based on it is NMRS AND/37/32/fol. 17r.
21. Plan of Policies of Kinnaird, 10 January 1696, NMRS AND/37/39/fol. 22r.
22. The scenographic potential of this church continued to be appreciated in the late eighteenth century, when the elevation facing Kinnaird Castle was remodelled as a fake and rather Gothick facade.
23. Given the argument that develops later in this discussion, it would be good to argue here that Edward was aware of the historical significance of this site, and that this was possible because he did have great knowledge of the history of the county. However, in Robert Edward's *Angusia Provincia Scotiae* (Amsterdam, 1678), the map and description of the county produced by his father with, this author has argued elsewhere, the assistance of Alexander (Lowrey, 1996, op. cit. in note 4), Turrin Hill is mentioned but only as a topographical feature from which to view the many castles and country houses in the countryside around. The Iron Age remains are not mentioned at all.
24. There are two unpublished reports on the landscape at Hopetoun: Hopetoun House Preservation Trust, *The Gardens of Hopetoun: A Story of Development and Change*, 1995; and Land Use Consultants, *Hopetoun House Designed Landscape Conservation Plan*, 1998. The building history of the house is covered in Alistair Rowan, 'The building of Hopetoun', *Architectural History (Design and Practice in British Architecture: Studies in Architectural History Presented to Howard Colvin)*, vol. 27, 1984, pp. 182–209.
25. Sir Robert Sibbald, *History of the Sheriffdoms of Linlithgow and Stirling*, Edinburgh, 1710, pp. 20–1.
26. According to the key on Adam's landscape plan, held at Hopetoun House.
27. This is identified as 'I' in the key to the 1730 plan.
28. James Macaulay, 'Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House', *Architectural Heritage*, XX, 2009, pp. 1–14.
29. The main source for this tour is a notebook in the Dalhousie Papers, NAS GD45/26/140.
30. A contract was drawn up between Edward and each of his patrons. A copy of this survives in the Mar and Kellie papers, NAS GD124/16/24. The Earl of Mar was one of the patrons.

31. In the diary of Sir David Nairne, Under-Secretary of State to James VII and the Old Pretender, in exile, there are a number of references to a 'Mr Edwards' but also one referring explicitly to Alexander Edwards carrying a cypher message from Lord Arran to the Queen: National Library of Scotland MS14266, entry for 13 June 1702.
32. Dalhousie Papers, NAS GD45/26/140.
33. A letter from Edward to the Earl of Mar, written at Le Havre on 7 July 1702, discusses, among other things, the transport of marble up the Seine to Mansart's royal works: Mar and Kellie Papers, NAS GD124/15/219.
34. There are detailed lists of this material in NAS GD45/26/140.
35. Mar and Kellie Papers, NAS GD124/16/24. The contract is dated 15 May 1701, just before his departure.
36. Hopetoun Papers, NRA(S)888/2783, 'Mr Edward's account of trees and bill to Robert Bruce on Hopetoun'.
37. Dalhousie Papers, NAS GD45/26/140.
38. This album was discovered by John Harris in the collection of the Earl of Rosebery, and he alerted this author to the possibility that the manuscript garden designs were by Alexander Edward (and they are). The contents of the album match the description of lot 571 in the Sotheby's Hopetoun sale of 1889, when it was presumably purchased by Rosebery. It was restored to Hopetoun c.1990.
39. Dalhousie Papers, NAS GE45/26/140.
40. There are four fragments pasted together into the volume. Apart from the funeral invitation, there is a flyer from Nicolas de Fer, the map publisher, in which all of the dates cover the period 1700–2; a catalogue of geographical, topographical and historical works, published 1670–1700 and a tiny but identifiable fragment of the second and lavishly illustrated edition of Perrault's translation of Vitruvius (Chapter 19, p. 204), published by Coignard in 1684.
41. Land Use Consultants, 1998, op. cit., p. 39 refers to accounts for this in the Hopetoun archive.
42. Sibbald, 1710, op. cit., p. 20.
43. Sir Robert Sibbald, *Historical Enquiries, concerning the Roman Monuments and Antiquities in the north part of Britain called Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1707.
44. Ibid., Section II, Chapter III, p. 51, where he mentions Edward's drawing of a Roman measure found in Aberdeenshire.
45. Ibid., Section I, Chapter II.
46. Ibid., Section I, Chapter IV: 'A Digression concerning the wall betwixt Newcastle and Carlisle'.
47. Ibid., Section II, Chapter III, p. 51.